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CATHOLICISM AND THE ELECTIONS
—Of Note

THE

Commonweal

America's Poor

Challenge to the National Conscience

by Lawrence T. King

Land They Never Knew

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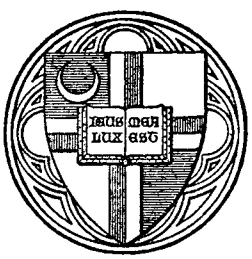

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THE
Commonweal
A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts
THIRTY-SIXTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

week by week

BACK TO THE CATHOLIC GHETTO?

DO AMERICAN CATHOLICS still live in a ghetto? If so, how can they leave the ghetto for fuller participation in our national life? Or do they, possibly, properly belong in the ghetto?

For some time now, both the secular and the religious press, both the scholar and the amateur sociologist, both cleric and layman, have debated whether American Catholics have fully emerged from the Catholic ghetto. With varying degrees of qualification the answer generally given was, "Not quite." The conditions which brought about the ghetto are rapidly becoming matters for historical study rather than immediate, pressing concern, and some Catholics can be found in almost every level of intellectual, social, and political life. Nevertheless, some vestiges of the ghetto still remain.

Some people, for example, still expect that a Catholic who runs for the highest office in the land should submit himself to special tests. And some Catholics respond to this expectation with the defensive, aggressive manner which is common to groups that are not totally accepted by the larger community. Catholics who are in sympathy with liberal political tradition in this country are frequently regarded as "security risks" both by their liberal friends and by their fellow Catholics. The Catholic intellectual who has clearly left the ghetto behind is still, occasionally, held suspect by the non-Catholic intellectual; if he expresses regret at what he regards as unnecessary and unfruitful tensions between the Catholic and the non-Catholic intellectual world he is, again occasionally, reminded by Catholics of Christ's warning about the world's hatred and told to accept the alienation as an inevitable consequence of his religious commitment.

While much of the debate has been conducted and, indeed, promises to continue in these terms, no one clearly asked for a return to the ghetto. Yet that is exactly what Monsignor Irving A. De Blanc seems to have plumped for in an address recently given nation-wide publicity. Monsignor De Blanc, director of the National Catholic Family Life Bureau, called for an "open ghetto" which would allow Catholics to avoid undue exposure to non-Catholic culture. "I don't think a Protestant should seriously date a Catholic, and vice versa. Of course we want to get to know and do business with persons of other faiths, but I wonder if a devout person should bring someone of another faith into his home, into his family surroundings. Catholics should not have close associates who are in a different religious situation. You soon compromise with a cultural pattern."

THE IMMEDIATE cause for Monsignor De Blanc's statement seemed to be his concern over an "alarming, arresting and provocative finding" which indicates, though inconclusively, that Catholics use contraceptives almost as readily as non-Catholics. Apparently judging that Catholics are conforming their actions to the present standards of society rather than to the teachings of the Church, Monsignor De Blanc's response was for Catholics to withdraw, partially, from the society.

While such a proposal may be understandable as an immediate reaction, it is unacceptable as planned policy. Our society is, regrettably, becoming increasingly secularized, and the religious person cannot be terribly at ease in a secularized society. His beliefs, his style of life, his most basic commitments are being constantly challenged. But the challenge must be met; it cannot simply be avoided. The secularized society will not be transformed because we look the other way.

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To say that the American Catholic should withdraw from full participation in the national life of his country is to imply that Catholicism is incongruent with or unequal to the best of modern thought; it implies that Catholics are less secure than their fellow-Americans and will readily compromise and yield their principles; it implies that their Catholic faith is something to protect and shield rather than something to cherish and share; it implies that possession of what is true and good is a barrier rather than a bridge to understanding, compassion and love for another person; it implies that it is better to withdraw from society and judge it from a safe distance rather than to engage oneself and to help shape that society.

Surely these are untenable positions. The American Catholic is properly proud of his achievements in this country. But those achievements were gained because he was eager and able to participate in American life. The Catholic in America has not yet reached the time for relaxation and withdrawal —if such a time does, indeed, exist. Now, as much as ever, he must be willing to engage himself with those who differ with him, to be as generous in accepting as in proffering truths. This is a hard task and it involves some risks, but a transcendent religion does not promise total peace and final security in this world.

DIP IN STEEL

ECONOMISTS are watching the steel industry at least as closely today as they did during the 116-day strike last year—and with reason. During the week in which this editorial is being written, one out of every three steelworkers will be either idle or working only part-time. In the basic steelmaking process alone, current union estimates place the number of laid-off workers at 85,000. With steel demand far down, the industry is operating at about half its capacity, and at this moment less steel is being poured in the United States than in the Soviet Union. Production this month is likely to be at the same level as that of the worst month in the 1958 recession, and this in turn was the worst record since the depression of the 1930's. There is, certainly, reason enough for serious concern in these facts.

Questioned about the slump in the steel industry at a recent press conference, President Eisenhower was inclined to play down the gravity of the situation. In his comments, Mr. Eisenhower emphasized favorable economic factors and stressed the fact that productivity in steel has increased tremendously, so much so that operation at fifty per cent of capacity means a total output equivalent to seventy-five per cent a few years ago. Further, he pointed out, although it was essential for the national interest that the steel industry be able to expand its output sharply in time of need, it could hardly be expected that the industry would operate at capacity or near-capacity most of the time.

All this is true enough, but it is still a long way from being a fully satisfactory answer, and we doubt that very many economists—not to mention workers and shareholders—will be quite so relaxed about the situation as the President at least seemed to be. Steel plays a key role in the American economy, both reflecting and accentuating national economic trends. Low production levels in steel affect the rest of the economy, and this in turn reflects back in a still lower demand for steel. At this writing the dip in steel production is already being felt in other industries, particularly in railroads, where freight volume is down and lay-offs are already heavy, with more in prospect. This is not surprising; when steel is operating at fifty per cent of its capacity, other industries are bound to feel the effect.

It must be said, too, that the immediate propects for improvement are not bright. Construction last winter fell below advance estimates, and there is no real boom in sight now. Appliance manufacturers are reported to have high inventories, both in steel and in unsold models. This leaves steel's biggest customer, the auto industry. If steel is to have a decent last quarter, unsold 1960 autos will have to be disposed of at a good rate in the next few months in order to make way for late summer production of new models. At this point all one can do is hope; it is too early to foretell how potential car-buyers will behave for the balance of the summer.

One fact, though, seems inescapable: as things stand now, the Steelworkers' David J. McDonald is correct in saying that steel has become an eight- or nine-month industry in anything except a boom year. Steel therefore becomes a testing ground as to how we will handle such problems as automation, technological unemployment, and the creative use of enforced leisure time, as well as the larger question of whether the national economy is growing at the rate it should when U.S. steel production sags to the level of the Soviet Union. These are, it seems to us, public as well as private questions, involving the national interest to a substantial degree, and they should be treated as such.

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CIVIL RIGHTS PLANKS

AS THESE words are being written, the Democrats in Los Angeles are still deliberating over the civil rights plank in their campaign platform, and, in a more detached way, the advance workers on the Republican platform are discussing what position their party should take some weeks hence. Coincidentally, reports currently reaching New York from Tennessee illustrate the reality of the problem behind the platform rhetoric.

According to these reports, a concerted effort is under way to drive hundreds of Negro families out of Fayette and Haywood counties in Tennessee. The Negroes' offense was simple enough: four hundred of them tried to register to vote in the forthcoming elections. And the punishment being meted out is simple enough too: economic pressure, applied by banks, wholesalers and in many cases even by retail stores which refuse to sell the offending Negroes food or clothing.

Local agents of seven oil companies, four of them representing nationally known corporations, have cut off deliveries of fuel oil to the beleaguered Negro families. Banks in both counties have refused to give the usual crop loans to Negroes who wanted the vote, imperiling future crops and in some cases leaving families without money for current living expenses. A storekeeper who is a leader in the effort to get Negroes to register and vote has been refused groceries by his usual wholesaler and has seen the gas pumps in front of his store removed by local representatives of the fuel company concerned. Some Negro residents report that their home and car insurance has already been canceled and that other companies in the area refuse to give them coverage. Still others say they have lost their jobs as a result of pressure on their employers, and that the chances of obtaining new employment anywhere in the area are nil.

At this writing, an investigation by the F.B.I. into these charges is under way. How much will come of it remains to be seen. But as the political platforms are written, the candidates chosen and the campaigns begin, reports such as these from Tennessee are essential for understanding the stakes in the civil rights battles. No doubt there is considerable hypocrisy in the maneuvering of some office-seekers, and no doubt many a shrewd eye will in the months ahead be cocked at the "Nego vote" in Northern cities. But beyond all that there is the reality of the problem, illustrated by the use of economic power against Negroes who are trying to exercise their rights as citizens of the United States. In our view, whatever the outcome of the current debates over civil rights planks, no candidate of either party who is willing to close his eyes to this reality is worthy of support at the polls.

Religion and the Elections

THE DEMOCRATIC Convention has not, as we go to press, named the man who will be the Democratic candidate for the Presidency in the coming elections. If the political winds blow true, however, that man is most likely to be Senator John F. Kennedy. But if the unexpected were to occur and another man were nominated in his stead, some truths which emerged during Senator Kennedy's pre-convention campaign would remain untouched.

There are political prophets who said that Senator Kennedy's religion would be a factor in his campaign, and they were right. Of these prophets, some asserted that his religion would be an insurmountable hurdle, and they were wrong. Senator Kennedy's Catholicism was a consideration for many people; so were such things as his age, his appearance, his stand on McCarthyism, his positions on labor, farm policy and foreign policy. The appeal he made, the doubts he raised and the opposition he aroused all derived from a complex of factors whose importance can be gauged only after time has lent perspective to his campaign. Even then the results will depend heavily upon personal judgment and intuition.

Even lacking the wisdom of hindsight, however, one can say that as a factor in his fight for the nomination the Senator's religion ran behind more immediate political considerations—as, indeed, it should have. If Senator Kennedy opposes Vice President Nixon in the coming Presidential campaign, we can hope that the attention directed to his religion will not exceed the attention it has already received. This will call for no more, on the part of the Republicans, than the degree of responsibility attained by the Democrats in their pre-convention campaign.

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America's Poor

Cold statistics about the rising national income have a way of masking the human factors involved

by LAWRENCE T. KING

OUR PRESENT AGE of affluence is replete with contradictions. As the Gross National Product soars to new heights and as personal income keeps edging upward—last year's advance was four per cent over 1948's—we find it increasingly difficult to become disturbed over the pockets of poverty which continue to persist on the fringes of our national affluence.

Perhaps our complacency can be explained by the fact that an entire generation has come of age without any direct experience with the corroding effects of mass unemployment. Even at the height of the recession of 1958—when seven per cent of the labor force was out of work—most Americans were insulated from the effects of enforced unemployment since it was generally restricted to certain geographical areas and occupational, racial and age groups, a condition termed "class unemployment" by the social scientists to distinguish it from the mass unemployment of the depression years when as much as twenty-five per cent of the labor force was idle.

Congress has given considerable attention to this problem of class unemployment. The most ambitious attempts to deal with it—area development legislation—have been vetoed twice by President Eisenhower, and the inability of Congress to override the President has been interpreted rightly or wrongly as reluctance on the part of the nation at large to undertake costly federal programs to aid depressed areas, on the assumption that the increasing level of national prosperity eventually will catch up with the problem.

Proponents of this view are quick to point to the latest figures put out by the United States Commerce Department which show that since 1947 the number of families and unattached single persons with annual incomes of less than $2,000 has shrunk from twenty-five to fourteen per cent while those earning $2,000 to $3,999 have declined from thirty-eight to twenty-one per cent. On the other hand, they point out that the number of families and unattached single persons making $4,000 to $5,999 has increased from twenty to twenty-three per cent, those earning $6,000 to $7,999 have gone up from nine to eighteen per cent, those in the $8,000-$9,999 bracket from three to ten per cent, those in the $10,000-$14,999 bracket from three to nine per cent, and those over $15,000 from two to five per cent.

THESE figures do show that more and more Americans are ascending the economic ladder with fewer families left on the lower rungs. Cold statistics, however, have a way of masking the human factors involved.

It is of little comfort to those families earning less than $2,000 a year—seven-and-a-half million, by Commerce Department estimates—to know that the general level of national prosperity is rising. And it is not surprising that those families with incomes of less than $4,000—thirty-five per cent of the national total—do not share the Administration's economic optimism, especially when another federal agency informs them that present living costs require a weekly income of $80.87 for a worker with three dependents and $73.31 for a worker with no dependents.

The median income for 1959—with half the families above and half below—was $5,300, and the "model" or most frequent income was $4,600. These figures are quite an improvement over those for 1947, when the median income was around $3,000. But balanced against the shrinkage in purchasing power since 1947—an income of $5,000 then was equivalent to $6,865 today—it is apparent that the increase in real income is not so spectacular as the Commerce Department figures would seem to indicate.

It is this constant shrinkage in the dollar—it is now worth 47.6 cents in terms of 1940 buying power—

Mr. King, a frequent contributor to The Commonweal, is a newspaperman now working in California.

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which accentuates the plight of those who remain in the lower income brackets. We may soothe our consciences with statistics and tell ourselves we never had it so good, but this does little to mitigate the misery of those who must fight a daily battle to make ends meet.

JUST WHO are these people, the American poor consigned to live in the shadows of our national affluence?

They are the elderly living on Social Security payments or small fixed incomes from pensions, seventy-four per cent of whom have an annual income of less than $1,000; the physically handicapped and infirm, who cannot compete in a competitive job market; the farm workers engaged in the most basic of all labors but excluded from federal and state wage-hour laws and often denied the protection of welfare aid and educational and health facilities of the localities in which they work; the racial minorities, "the last hired, the first fired," who in many sections of the country are barred from unions or placed in wage categories below those of the dominant group; the victims of geography who have seen once flourishing communities turned into depressed areas by technological advances, changes in consumer demand, depletion of natural resources and shifts in defense procurements or the location of military facilities.

The belief persists among many that these people somehow are responsible for their own condition. There are, of course, those who are chronically unemployed because they lack the drive which is so important in an acquisitive society and there are those who do not possess necessary job skills because of educational deficiencies or insufficient training. For the most part, however, they are persons victimized by conditions not of their own making.

Take the case of racial minorities. The higher incidence of unemployment among Negroes, the low wages paid to Puerto Ricans in New York and elsewhere, the lack of employment opportunities for American Indians, the exploitation of Mexican-American manpower in the Southwest, cannot be explained solely in terms of lower levels of skill or other objective standards. Dual wage standards for the same type of work, discriminatory hiring and firing policies, closing of union ranks and apprenticeship opportunities to Negroes and other practices have been definitely established as factors which reduce certain minorities to the role of drawers of water and hewers of wood.

Then there are those who live in areas which have become depressed—coal miners thrown out of work by automation and declining demand for coal, workers in wood-textile industry towns where plants have been closed as a result of competition from cheaper synthetic fibers, miners and smelter workers in areas where mineral resources have become depleted. Men who have spent a lifetime of productive labor in these fields do not find it easy to adapt to new jobs and skills, even when new jobs are available, and in most cases the jobs simply are not there.

THE PROBLEM we face has been complicated by the fact that modern trends are operating against labor mobility. Senator Eugene McCarthy's Special Committee on Unemployment Problems, which has just completed a comprehensive study of the situation, stated in its report to the Senate:

"Theoretically, a supply of unemployed workers attracts new enterprises to a locality; and in the absence of new jobs, laid-off workers are expected to move to a new locality. A number of studies since World War II have shown that the labor market does not actually operate in this way. The pockets of high unemployment in many localities have not diminished even though production has reached new heights throughout the nation."

The committee suggests a number of reasons for diminishing mobility: increased home ownership and increased number of children, personnel practices in hiring, and high risks attendant upon moving to a new locality. Fifty per cent more families, for example, own their own homes today than at the beginning of the century. The committee has found that converting a tenant into a home owner tends to reduce his mobility, and that a home is not a liquid asset in a community which has become depressed.

A definite link is established between the size of a family and a worker's mobility. Families are much larger today than they were twenty years ago, and figures based upon the 1950 census show that the migration rate among families with children is less than half the migration rate of families without children in comparable age groups.

Industrial and personnel practices are also cited as factors tending to reduce labor mobility. Insistence of industry on reducing job turnover and organized labor's success in winning seniority rights, pension plans and severence pay have all served to stabilize the labor force at the expense of the migrating job-seeker.

"A worker takes obvious risks," the report states, "in moving to a new locality. Usually a person who becomes unemployed puts all his efforts and financial resources into looking for work near home, relying on unemployment compensation for temporary support. By the time he decides there are no local opportunities he is near the end of his financial reserves. A West Virginia witness put the predicament this way: 'It's hard to go some place when you ain't got no money. It takes a little money to go some place to hunt a job, too.' He may have heard of jobs many miles away, but he knows from the experience of others that he will be the first fired in a layoff if he is the last hired.

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If he is an older worker, he will have difficulty in finding any work at all. He knows that if he is unsuccessful, he will have, in addition to the expense of moving his family to the new location, the expense of moving back. He knows, of course, he can 'go on alone,' but this means family separation and perhaps family dislocation. Often he will have to spend everything he earns to take care of his own living expenses in the new location and have nothing to send home."

In his appearance before Senator McCarthy's committee, a district supervisor of public assistance for five West Virginia counties testified:

"I would like to talk about the results of unemployment. It is heartbreaking sometimes, as I talk to these people in need, that our department is in the position that we cannot help them. They want work that produces; they don't want work that is merely set up as a plan instead of assistance.

"A man came into the office not long ago and said, 'Lady, I am not disabled, and I don't want assistance. But I am forty-five years of age, I have two children in high school, the rest of my children are in the grades, and they can't go to school because they don't even have shoes!' "

Teachers also testified and told of high absenteeism and dropouts because the children did not have the shoes or proper clothing. In schools fortunate enough to have federally subsidized hot lunch programs—not all school have them because some lack kitchen facilities—pupils often get their only full meal of the day there. One teacher said most of her pupils save portions of their lunches and milk for younger children at home. Another told of her pupils' dislike of vacation periods because they never had enough to eat at home. It is little wonder that Congressmen from the area have pressed for a domestic Point Four Program to aid their people.

IF POVERTY remains endemic to the depressed mining areas, it is by no means confined there. The lowest per capita incomes are still to be found in the rural areas. There unemployment is not as great a problem as is underemployment, which the Department of Agriculture defines as "utilization of the human agent in economic activity that results in real earnings that are significantly less than are received by comparable resources in other uses." It is estimated that 1,200,000 farm males—almost one-quarter of the total number of farm males with income—are underemployed.

In a report published last year, the Department of Labor reported that despite increases in earnings for non-agricultural workers, the income of farm workers continued to decline. In 1957, annual average earnings of migratory workers for 131 days of farm and non-farm labor was $859, as compared with $898 and 147 days for non-migratory workers. In the face of the greatest burst of productivity in the nation's history, the relative economic status of hired farm workers continues to deteriorate.

Behind the statistics there is a sordid story of squalor, a story which was detailed at length by the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor at a hearing held last year in Washington.

There was the minister from Pompano Beach, Florida, who told of his experience among the migrants in that state: "Most camps are dilapidated shacks with large families living in one room with no windows. The toilet facilities are the outdoor privy type that are so filthy that many use the ground. The water supply is outside faucets with no water in the dwellings. Why should little children be forced to live in such filthy surroundings just because they were born in a migrant family?"

The chairman of the National Child Labor Committee testified: "Children who work in agriculture do not suffer from the harmful effects of their labor alone. Their whole way of life is deprived. They suffer from poverty, community rejection, inadequate housing, unsanitary facilities, etc. . . . Nothing is done to help them occupationally—to give them the education, preparation or special help they need to become productive citizens."

A doctor from Corpus Christi, Texas, appeared: "The children of migrant parents are born into a world completely of their own. . . . If the child lives to be of school age, he could possibly go to many schools on different occasions at different places but he will never average more than three years of schooling in his lifetime. His world will be from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Great Lakes to the Rio Grande. It will be his world, however, in that the only piece of property that he will ever own will be his grave. . . . I may be here because I am still haunted by the remembrance of a day ten years ago when I found a dead mother with six children lying in the same bed, all covered with blood from the hemorrhage of a dying tubercular mother."

THE CONTINUED existence of poverty of this sort in a nation that has amassed the greatest wealth in the history of the world must remain an affront to the American conscience. The poor, of course, will always be with us; but it is one thing to be poor because we live in a society in which there is not enough to go around—it is quite a different matter when we know there is enough to go around, when the poverty is the direct result of our national failure fully to utilize and develop human material resources which we have in abundance and which are the true sources of wealth.

The migrants, for example, are not poor because of

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the nature of their work. They are migrant workers because they are poor. And they are roaming country roads not because the farm economy needs them—they have no historical precedent in American life—but simply because of our failure to solve some of the basic social and economic problems of our time. Workers certainly would not subject themselves and their families to the vicissitudes of migratory life if other economic opportunities were available. They are there because there is nowhere else to go.

The casualization of the rural labor force has been given its greatest impetus by our inability to solve the farm problem. Agricultural economists in Washington have centered their efforts on reducing surpluses and forcing prices upward by encouraging marginal farmers to leave the land and seek jobs elsewhere. Industry, however, has not been able to absorb these displaced farmers, and they have, instead, joined the ranks of the farm laborers.

We Americans are prodigious capital builders, but in our preoccupation with stocks and bonds and corporate wealth we have concentrated our efforts in fields where our investments will produce the fastest and best returns. As a result, our capital investments are unevenly distributed—some areas are booming, others are blighted. The problem of the distressed areas must be seen in this perspective, for the condition will persist as long as we fail to expand the productive apparatus at our command by investment of public capital to counteract the imbalance of private capital.

We can, of course, continue to subsidize unproductive elements in our society through relief and welfare grants and "make work" projects. But programs of this sort, though necessary in a society beset by periodic economic readjustments, will never solve the problem. What is needed is a comprehensive social and economic program similar in approach to the T.V.A. concept, a program which will upgrade an entire region and provide opportunities where none existed before.

It is futile to expect industries to locate in distressed areas unless there are economic incentives for them to do so. Cheap and abundant power and water, freedom from floods and dust storms, adequate transportation facilities and pleasant surroundings are some of the incentives which will attract industries and provide the diversified economic base so vitally needed in blighted rural and industrial areas.

The programs which will provide such incentives will not come from the private sector of the economy, for its capital can be invested much more advantageously elsewhere. It is to the public sector of the economy that these distressed areas must look. The unhappy fate that has befallen area redevelopment legislation should not discourage Americans from pressing forward for a bold, imaginative national approach to the problem of chronic poverty.

It is time that we faced up to the fact that the national economy is not truly served by budgetary considerations that block the full development of our physical wealth. In the long run, every dollar of public money invested in revitalizing undeveloped segments of our economy will pay high dividends in the creation of new wealth and opportunities for the poor Americans who have been left far behind in the nation's march toward affluence.

DISPLACED CHINESE

Land They Never Knew

by DOUGLAS HYDE

THOUSANDS OF tearful Overseas Chinese have recently been taken off to the Chinese mainland in ships sent by the Government of Red China. Many thousands more will probably follow.

Their story has by now become familiar. What is not so well known is that thousands of Catholics are among those who are being forced out. They are faced with the prospect of having to leave Indonesia, where they have been able to practice their religion in freedom, for life under a Communist regime where Catholics are persecuted.

The Indonesian Government's attempt to break what it calls the economic stranglehold of the three million Chinese members of the population on the country's economy has, thus, created many human problems. It has created an appalling problem for Indonesia's small Catholic community and a quite different one for the Communist parties of South East Asia.

Under Presidential Decree No. 10 of 1959, the In-

Mr. Hyde, author of *I Believe* and *God's Bandit*, recently returned to England after an extensive trip through Southeast Asia.

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donesian Government is prohibiting alien retailers from trading outside the main towns. Although a few other foreigners are affected by this legislation, which was first implemented early this year, it is against the Chinese in particular that it is aimed. For they form the overwhelming majority of the shopkeeping class in the rural areas.

All over the Indonesian countryside Chinese traders have had to abandon their businesses. In the province of West Java they have been transported from their homes to the nearest town. There they are rehoused in what the Government describes as "temporary accommodation." In practice, this means that many are put into camps.

There are already more than enough traders in the towns and the country is, in any case, in the throes of a protracted economic crisis. For most of those affected, therefore, it will be impossible to earn a livelihood and they clearly have no future in Indonesia. This is recognized by both the Indonesian and the Chinese Governments.

Among the Chinese who are being subjected to this pressure are undoubtedly some big businessmen who have laid themselves open to the charge that they were trying to manipulate the economy to their own advantage. Some of Indonesia's politicians put a more sinister interpretation on their activities. They hold that the Chinese have been guilty of economic sabotage which, they suspect, is the result of either sympathy for mainland China or the result of pressure from that quarter.

But the Presidential Decree also affects some 300,000 village shopkeepers and their families. Most of these are little men. The Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio, has told them that the Government cannot be responsible for their fate in the sense that it will not help them to find a livelihood.

In these circumstances the displaced Chinese must find some other land in which to live. If they leave the country they must, under the terms of the new regulation, take with them neither goods nor cash.

WHEN THE Sukarno Government first made known its intention, the Chinese Communist Government protested. There followed some weeks of quarrelling between the two Governments, during the course of which the Indonesians alleged that members of the Chinese Embassy staff were going around the countryside inciting the Overseas Chinese to defy the new regulation.

The quarrel was patched up when the Chinese Government agreed to send transport ships to collect any who wished to return to China. Peking Radio announced that the Government of People's China would take full responsibility for looking after all those who were repatriated for a period of twelve months.

Within a few days, six thousand Overseas Chinese, for whom life had become impossible, indicated that they were prepared to return to China. The word "return" is, for many of those concerned, a euphemistic one, since it was their fathers or grandfathers who left China for Indonesia many years ago. They have regarded Indonesia as their home even though, as is usually the case, they were automatically Chinese citizens.

Among the thousands of new-type refugees who have already left for Red China have been an unknown number of Catholics. Most of Java's teeming population are Muslims. Few of these have become converts to Christianity. Many Chinese, on the other hand, have become splendid Christians. This has been the case with the Chinese in Indonesia. In one Catholic student group in Djakarta eighty per cent of the members are Chinese. Many thousands of those who are now under pressure to leave for China and who feel that they have no alternative but to go are Catholics.

When I was in Djakarta representatives of a group of five hundred Catholics, both priests and laymen, were pleading with foreign embassies to find a home for them where they could keep together as a group, pastors and flock, and where they might practice their Faith in peace.

They were received sympathetically, but were reminded that there are, for example, one and a half million refugees already in Hong Kong who would also like to be rehabilitated elsewhere. And so they are still desperately trying to find some corner of the Free World in which to live. If unsuccessful they leave for China to face the worst the Communists can do against them.

THEY ARE likely to be the first of many. It is generally believed that the same sort of pressure will soon be put upon the Chinese in the towns. This will mean that the majority of Indonesia's three and a half million Overseas Chinese will be faced with the prospect of deportation to Red China. These would include most of the Chinese Catholics who in turn represent a significant part of Indonesia's Catholic community. Catholics arriving in Red China from Indonesia, homeless, propertyless, and defenseless will be at the Government's mercy. The recent imprisonment of Bishop Walsh is a grim reminder that the persecution still continues.

Some rich Chinese with investments abroad have been able to leave for Brazil. Others intend to do the same thing. It seems likely that the Indonesian Government, which has been very fair in its dealing with the Church over the years, would not prevent Catholics from going to some country other than Communist China—provided that the cash comes from outside Indonesia. Their fate probably depends on whether

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their fellow Catholics in other parts of the world can find an alternative homeland for them.

The troubles of the Communist parties of South East Asia are in quite a different category. When the Sukarno Government first started its Overseas Chinese policy the powerful P.K.I. (Communist Party of Indonesia) took the same line as the Chinese Government. It protested. This was in accord with its past policies. It had always regarded the Chinese population as being its potential ally. It was also, no doubt, happy to keep in step with Communist China on a policy about which Russia, so far as might then be judged, was unlikely to have any special feelings one way or the other.

But while the P.K.I.'s General Secretary, Mr. Aidit, was touring Eastern Europe it was arranged that Mr. Khrushchev would go to Indonesia as President Sukarno's guest. It is believed that Aidit was told that it would be unhelpful if the one and a half million-strong P.K.I. were to be in open conflict with the Government just at the time of the Soviet leader's visit. Cordial relations between uncommitted Indonesia and the Soviet Union were more important to Communism than three million Overseas Chinese.

RIGHT UP to late last year the P.K.I. was charging with chauvinism those who singled out the Overseas Chinese for attack. Nonetheless it reversed its policy of defending the Chinese not long before Mr. Khrushchev arrived. In typical Communist fashion it then swung the pendulum right over in the opposite direction. Like the extreme nationalists, it charged the Chinese with strangling the economy for their own selfish purposes and lined up with those who demand that the entire Chinese community be deported. This, incidentally, accords with the line of Communist parties in many other uncommitted countries in Asia and Africa, too, who are currently preparing to sacrifice almost anyone or anything in order to have the opportunity of jumping on the bandwagon in this period of resurgent, militant nationalism.

The Philippines' Communist Party has for some years gauged what was the mind of Moscow by the policies and behavior of the P.K.I. The Moscow line in Asia, as elsewhere, is still the all-important one, even though the Chinese influence, inspiration and example are now potent and growing factors in the spread of Communism throughout the area.

The Communists of the Philippines have therefore been watching the course of events in Indonesia with some interest and have now, it seems, taken their cue from the P.K.I. Their party, which led the Hukbalahap rebellion is, of course, outlawed. Those of its leaders who are not in jail are on the run, living illegally either in the towns or with the remnant of the Huks in the mountains. It has not yet, therefore, made its attitude public.

IN A MILITARY prison in Quezon City one Sunday in February I talked to a majority of the Party's Secretariat. They had been arrested or captured during the Huk rebellion. I told them what I had seen happening to the Chinese in Indonesia and asked what would be their attitude if similar legislation were ever to be introduced in the Philippines.

They insisted that since they were prisoners they were no longer the leaders of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Communist Party membership is automatically suspended, they claimed, when Communists go to jail even though it may commence again on the day they are released. The Communist Party leaders, they said, were elsewhere. Nonetheless, it is not unreasonable to assume that they would take up leadership of the Party once more if they were to be released tomorrow and that their views reflect those of the Communists outside. Their stand on the question of the Overseas Chinese was exactly that of the P.K.I. It was absolutely uncompromising.

"We are against all forms of alien domination of our economy," they said. "This means in practice both American domination and the domination of the Chinese traders, bankers and moneylenders. We are for the deportation of the Chinese." I questioned them closely to see if they meant by this the big Chinese merchants and larger store keepers. Or did they, I asked, mean the ordinary little shopkeepers as well?

"We are for the deportation of them all, right down to the last coolie. The Chinese all hang together in any case, they are all tied up with each other, they must all go together. You have to be prepared if necessary to sacrifice a minority for the good of the majority."

It was evident that they believed that, following the current Moscow line, they should identify themselves with the most extreme form of nationalism, and try to make allies of the nationalists. In the process, they would identify themselves also with policies which not long ago they, too, would have described as chauvinistic, but this did not worry them. The party line, as the Marxist text-books say, must change with an everchanging situation.

There has in the past no doubt been some grounds for the fear that the large communities of Overseas Chinese who are to be found all over South East Asia, represent a potential fifth column for Communist China.

But if these latest Communist policies are sufficiently publicized, it is not unreasonable to assume that Communism may be made to look a good deal less attractive to them. For the Overseas Chinese who now supports the Communist Party endorses the demand, not only for his own deportation but for the deportation of all his people, "right down to the last coolie."

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RULES OF THE GAME

THIS IS the first half of a two-part column on the upcoming campaign. The second half will be written after the winner is announced in November. This first instalment will set down three rules. The second will be an attempt to fill in the score board on how well they were observed.

1. Sectarian religious appeals and sly racial and ethnic appeals should be considered out of bounds.

This does not mean that a candidate should avoid questions which are of particular interest to particular groups. It is natural enough for a Jewish group to want to know where a candidate stands on Israel, for instance, or for an Eastern European group to ask what can be done to help the captive nations. But a candidate should be penalized if he implies that his opponent is a hard-hearted monster who does not share his tender concern for the enquiring group's kinfolk abroad. He should penalize himself if he promises miracles to people who are looking for them.

Candidates who by devious means accent their own religious affiliations where it helps and play them down where it may be a handicap are cheating. Candidates who tailor special speeches for special audiences, using the vocabulary sacred to their audiences and beloved group-clichés, are border-line cases.

If this rule is kept, the campaign will make history. For every politico knows that bloc-voting is a persistent American habit, and candidates are few and far between who do not take it into consideration. In "Our Own Kind," a report to the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Moses Rischin recently drew up an impressive list of examples of such electioneering in the 1956 election. Did you know, for instance, that Robert F. Wagner is a "proven Philhellene"? That was why "Americans of Greek Descent" were urged to vote for him in the pages of *Atlantis*. And supporters of Jacob Javits urged the readers of the *Irish Echo* to "send a friend of Ireland to the U.S. Senate." Senator Javits, *Irish Echo* readers were told, "has fought and will go on fighting for the unification of Ireland and end of partition." In 1956 readers of *Amerikai Magyar Nepszava* were told that Arthur G. Klein was the "only Hungarian candidate for Supreme Court justice," and an advertisement in the *Staats-Zeitung und Herold* hailed the mayor of New York as "the German-American Robert F. Wagner, the renowned son of the most famous German-American politician, the late Senator Robert F. Wagner."

It will be something of a miracle if there is not a full measure of this sort of thing in 1960. Both candidates can be expected to court ecclesiastical dignitaries, proclaim their undying loyalty to various national ideals and traditional cultures, and crowd their high-priority list with various group causes. Where a real foul should be called is when racial and religious bigotry and nationalistic prejudices are played upon, either by the candidates themselves or by their supporters. To be sure, no candidate can be responsible for all his supporters say and do. But he can make his own position clear and repudiate any help that comes to him by these sleazy methods.

2. While political mistakes are a fair target for any campaigner, the implication that they were not merely mistakes but the work of treacherous men with evil motives is reprehensible.

Perhaps there will not be many temptations along this line in 1960. The trend that began in 1950 and reached a high point in the 1952 campaign is something we should all be ashamed of by now. One tends to believe that any efforts along this line will backfire.

To plead for simple fairness during the coming months is not to demand a panty-waist campaign. Campaigners can be as "tough" as they want to be, as hard-hitting as they desire. But what is so tough about branding good men as traitors or swinging wildly with irresponsible charges? What is so courageous about corrupting political life and poisoning the very source of American liberty?

Of course there is a small but voluble section of the American public which can not understand the present world crisis unless it is explained to them in terms of giant conspiracies and vast betrayals. Candidates who want to make time with them will be tempted to tell them what they want to hear. But when a politician succumbs to such a temptation, he does not just prostitute himself, he treats his audience with the kind of scorn they deserve but which, in the interest of the greatest good, they should be spared.

3. Mr. Khrushchev's choice of candidate is irrelevant.

Clearly, Mr. K. would like to intrude himself into the election. One can not say what his motivation is, but since one must presume he does not have the best interests of America at heart his advice is unworthy of consideration. To operate according to Khrushchev's current taste would be stupid. Not long ago he was praising President Eisenhower as a man of peace; these days he is denouncing him furiously. There is no reason his views should count, one way or the other.

Of course at any given time there may be a partisan advantage in citing K.'s latest statement about his favorite candidate or preferred party. Some politicians may use it. When they do, sensible people would do well to ignore them.

JOHN COGLEY.

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Catholicism and the Elections

The text that follows represents substantial excerpts from an address to a group of ministers delivered by Paul Simon, a member of the General Assembly of the State of Illinois. Mr. Simon's remarks obviously have broad implications, no matter who is nominated by the national political conventions. They were first presented in The Cresset, published monthly by the Valparaiso University Press (Valparaiso, Ind., $2 a year), with this comment: "In a year when the enemies of the Christian Church may have special reason to rejoice in the unhappy divisions that exists within Christendom, the Editors of The Cresset are happy to have the opportunity to associate themselves with the views expressed by Representative Simon." Many readers of The Commonweal are already familiar with Valparaiso University and with the experiment in religious education being carried out in that well-known Lutheran institution ("Religion in College," Jan. 29, 1960), and we are pleased to be able to reprint here a major part of Representative Simon's address from The Cresset.

THE EDITORS.

IN A SENSE I am a layman speaking to laymen. I am a layman in the field of theology, speaking to theologians on a subject that covers both theology and politics. You are laymen in the field of politics. Since the topic really enters two spheres, I think it is only fair that you know some of my theological prejudices before we get directly into the political. . . .

My prejudices include the belief that the usual division of what the world at large calls Christendom into Protestant and Roman Catholic (and perhaps Orthodox) is not a proper division. The real division is between those who believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and those who do not, between those who believe that the resurrection is a reality and those who do not, between those who believe in the literal truth of the Biblical accounts of Christ's life and those who do not. In such a basic division, we find ourselves on the same side as our Roman Catholic brethren.

I am prejudiced in that I find a much greater sense of affinity with those who accept the Apostles Creed, the Nicene Creed and the Athanasian Creed, than with those who reject all or parts of these creeds. Here again, I find myself aligned with my Roman Catholic friends, for these three creeds are accepted by both Lutherans and Roman Catholics.

I am prejudiced since I am a son of the Reformation and as such I recall that the Reformation involved the rejection of tradition when that tradition conflicted with the truth. It was not a rejection of tradition because it was tradition, but it was a re-examination in the light of revealed truth and a re-formation of beliefs on that basis. It is disturbingly clear that part of the tradition which much of modern Protestantism and much of modern Lutheranism has inherited is a tradition of militant, emotional anti-Catholicism. It is overdue for the church of the Reformation to take a fresh look at this tradition in the light of truth. In the political field, the Democratic party is frequently accused of "continuing to run against Hoover" instead of the Republican party of today. There is some justice to this charge. But in the religious field, there is also some justice to the charge that Lutherans of today are "running against" sixteenth century Catholicism, rather than the Roman Catholic Church of today.

I am prejudiced in knowing that if I came to this meeting and delivered a bitter harangue against the Roman Catholic church, it probably would be received warmly. . . . I recall vividly too many instances when I have heard speakers—probably in all cases sincere—distort the truth beyond recognition in an attack on the Roman Catholic church and you could sense in the audience reaction that this had "caught fire." This was what they wanted to hear. What people want to hear seldom is what they should hear.

I am prejudiced by the fact that my work takes me into frequent contact with members of all denominations and many faiths. It has given me the opportunity to examine Protestant literature about Roman Catholicism and Roman Catholic literature about Protestant groups. In almost all cases on both sides the material is a collection of half-truths, falsehoods, and bitterness. . . . The young Indian student in the Calcutta airport was speaking to you as well as to me when he said recently in a casual conversation we had: "If for no other reason, I would not become a Christian because of the way you Christians talk about one another". . . .

I am prejudiced by the fact that only a few months ago I was going through the countries of Asia, going through village after village and city after city in India, for example, without a single Christian church. Then I returned to my small town of Troy with 1500 population where we have seven Christian churches. You cannot see this without being deeply disturbed by the sin of division within the Christian church. In theory, the manpower we use in at least four of our Troy

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churches should be sent to those villages in India. I know this will not happen, but I must ask myself when I look at Troy, "What has happened that permits this terrible waste of Christian energy?" . . .

I am prejudiced by the fact that today in Germany the Lutheran church and the Roman Catholic church are cooperating as they never have since the days of the Reformation. The only period which compares at all —the dark days of the Nazis. This new cooperation between these church bodies in Germany has been made possible because of the recognition of what they have in common: a common faith and a common enemy.

I am prejudiced, finally, by the fact that I have been permitted to travel on five of the world's continents and I fear I have seen the face of tomorrow. If you have such a look, I don't think you can view your fellow Christians of other denominations as competitors. I do not mean that we should be disloyal to the truth as we see it, but part of loyalty to truth is a recognition of what we have in common as well as what separates us. Even more important is the significance of what we have in common. . . .

If I were to hold a graph in front of you with one line representing the percentage of the world's population which is falling under Communist domination that line would be going steadily upward. The other line on the graph would be the percentage of the world's population which is at least nominally Christian. That line would be going steadily downward. What can change that ominous picture? It would take the entire afternoon even partially to answer that question, but I can tell you what will *not* change the picture: a loveless, fighting, bickering Christian church which is more concerned about knocking down her co-religionists than in bending every effort to bring the news of Christ to those who hunger for it.

ALL OF THAT may seem a long way from the topic of the possibility of having a Roman Catholic President in 1961. On reflection I am sure you will join in the belief that there is a direct relationship. . . .

Some Lutherans were shocked to see Dr. Franklin Clark Fry quoted in a national magazine as saying that he would vote for a Roman Catholic for the Presidency of the United States if he thought the Catholic candidate were a better man than his opponent. Is this attitude right? What should the proper attitude be toward a Catholic running for that high office? . . .

The basic question is: Generally speaking, does denomination form a legitimate basis for determining for whom you will vote?

When I am campaigning for re-election, occasionally someone comes up to me and says, "Paul, you're a Lutheran and I'm Lutheran too. I'm going to vote for you." If I have the chance to explain, I try to point out that if my opponent is a Prebyterian or Methodist, but is a better man than I am, then my Lutheran friends ought to vote for my opponent. The fact that I am a Lutheran does not necessarily make me a better public servant. . . . .

Selecting a public official is like picking a man for a job. If you were to employ a mechanic in a garage, the big question would not be whether he is a Lutheran or a Catholic or a Jew, but whether he knows how to fix cars. And when you vote for public office, essentially you are employing someone to do a job, and the big question should be whether by attitude and ability he is the right man for the position.

I believe all of this holds true also for Roman Catholics. Many of my fellow Protestants, I fear, think that Roman Catholics in government positions fall down like dominoes at the will of a bishop or cardinal or high church official. Roman Catholics do have their representatives at our state capitol in Springfield, as do the Protestants and the Jews. But Roman Catholics will divide among themselves on almost all issues. There is no more a Roman Catholic "party line" on things than there is a Lutheran "party line." My experience in three terms in the Illinois legislature is that the Roman Catholic Church does not dictate political decisions to her members.

But what about countries where there has been abuse by the Roman Catholic Church?

Beyond any question there have been areas where there has been abuse by the Roman Catholic Church —just as there have been areas where there has been abuse by the Lutheran Church.

Countries where the Roman Catholic Church has a fine record for tolerance are rarely mentioned. Seldom is it mentioned that Ireland, which is 99 per cent Catholic, has had a Protestant president and a Jewish mayor of Dublin. Seldom is it pointed out that probably a majority of Lutheran ministers in Germany supported Konrad Adenauer, a Roman Catholic German leader. I know of no instance in a democratic country, where the head of that government was a Roman Catholic, where the Roman Catholic abused that position. I feel that in the United States we would have a similar experience. . . .

Recently a college president told me: "The bad thing about having a Catholic President is that he would be attending the Catholic services regularly if he were a good Catholic. Simply by his example, large numbers of people would be inclined toward joining that church. If he were a weak Catholic, I might vote for him, but not if he were a strong Catholic." Is he right?

I think it would have to be conceded that having a Roman Catholic President would be good public relations for that church body. But how many people have joined the Presbyterian Church because President Eisenhower attends Presbyterian services? I doubt if

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there are many. The fact that a President attends church services may create a bit of tendency toward thinking that attending church service is a good thing, but it probably does not get much more specific than that.

The second point mentioned by the college president is that if the candidate were a weak Roman Catholic he might vote for him, but not if he were a strong Roman Catholic. All things being equal between the candidates (which is not likely), one of whom is a weak Roman Catholic and one a strong Roman Catholic, my own preference would be for the strong Roman Catholic. The man who has strong convictions about moral principles is a man I would much prefer to have guide my country, rather than one who lacks moral backbone.

Aren't there Roman Catholic statements which indicate that the public office holder must listen to the Pope for political advice and be subservient to him?

There are statements which state just that. There are also statements which deny this. There is difference of opinion on many things within the Roman Catholic Church just as there is within other church bodies. The official Roman Catholic doctrine is that the Pope is infallible only when he speaks *ex cathedra* on matters of faith and morals, and this is rare. A Roman Catholic has as much right to decline the advice of the Pope on a political matter as you or I do. In all probability, any President, whatever his religious persuasion, would listen carefully to the opinions which the Pope or any other leading religious figure might express. But any President would be free to accept or reject such advice.

Don't Roman Catholics vote pretty much as a bloc?

. . . Ethnic and cultural groups have a tendency to vote for someone within their own group. . . . As a group becomes thoroughly accepted into the American community, this tendency declines. For example, Polish people will tend to vote for someone with a Polish background much more than Germans will vote for a German. The Irish today are not the solid bloc they once were. Negroes have a strong tendency to favor Negro candidates and Jews heavily favor Jewish candidates; both of these groups feel a lack of total acceptance into the American community. Methodists and Baptists and Presbyterians have only a slight tendency to vote as a bloc because they feel very comfortably a part of the American community; the defense mechanism of voting "for one of their own" is not present to any marked degree.

Roman Catholics today do not vote as a bloc to the degree they did twenty or forty years ago. If either party puts a Roman Catholic on the national ticket (as this is being written both parties are considering it) and there are strong attacks made on a Roman Catholic being a candidate, there will be an increasing tendency for Roman Catholics to support a Roman Catholic candidate. However, many Roman Catohlic officials have warned against this. The late Cardinal Stritch not too many months before his death issued a strong statement which stated that his position was to vote for the man more qualified to do a job, regardless of his affiliation. He said that if a Protestant could perform a job more ably than a Roman Catholic candidate, he would be conscience-bound to vote for the Protestant.

What is the harm of injecting the religious issue into a campaign?

It results in a senseless religious feuding and it results in selecting public officials by the wrong standards. . . .

Does that mean that a man's personal religious life can be separated from his functioning as a public official?

Generally the answer to that question is that you cannot separate faith from life; to separate it is a dangerous thing. . . . I don't think a man can attend church on Sunday and then on Monday find no relationship between his religion and issues like foreign aid and racial discrimination. At the same time there are two things we should keep in mind here:

(1) While my religious life will help mold my opinion, I think I should be slow to state that on a specific issue a certain position is the Christian or moral position. I think there are issues where that can become clear (such as racial discrimination), but I think Christians in government should be cautious about equating their own position with God's position.

(2) While faith does affect political actions, there is a valid dual role between an official's public life and personal life. Moses recognized this on the issue of divorce where in his personal life he believed one thing, but as a public servant he faced a realistic situation and had to take a very different position. A city clerk in my home town was a devout Baptist who believed all drinking of a strong liquor to be a sin. Since he had to sign the liquor licenses, he resigned. I think he did the wrong thing; he failed to make the proper distinction which Moses made. A Roman Catholic judge believes that all divorce is wrong and he follows this in his personal life. But as a judge he must grant divorce according to the law and not according to his personal tenets. In a sense he plays a dual role.

The general proposition nevertheless holds that a man cannot separate his personal religious beliefs from his actions in political life. For the most part it shapes attitudes rather than specific policies. Two men of Christian persuasion, who believe they should love their neighbor as themselves, may disagree with each other on the specific program of carrying out that principle; but neither can disregard the basic precept without violating the religious belief he claims.

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THE SCREEN

THE SKIMMED SURFACE

PERHAPS THE faults of most movie biographies lie in the cinematic medium itself. For movie biographies, no matter how well made, seem to have an almost inevitable artificiality and glossy sameness about them. A sudden rush of new biographical pictures illustrates this well; and the fact that one of them resorts neither to excessive editing or manipulating makes the point all the more pertinent.

The outstanding exception to the stereotype fancy film biography is "The Gallant Hours." Concentrating on the Admiral Halsey story in the fall of 1942, the picture becomes a real tribute to William F. Halsey, Jr. While the script sets the South Pacific scene well from the day the Fleet Admiral assumes command through the Guadalcanal campaign, to the routing of the Japanese in this area, there are practically no battle sequences. The gallant hours belong to Halsey, who is magnificently portrayed by James Cagney with restraint and subtlety and free from the usual Cagney mannerisms. It is a sincere and seemingly simple portrait of a heroic commander who saw his duty and did it, who out-guessed his opponent (Yamamoto), who knew loneliness and pain when he sent men into battle and death, and who humbly believed "there are no great men; there are only great challenges which ordinary men like you and me are forced by circumstances to meet." Cagney's fine performance is well supported by a large cast portraying the men who surrounded Halsey. But "The Gallant Hours" as a whole is an odd movie; it is far too long, talky, slow-moving and low-keyed for general audiences. Producer-director Robert Montgomery deserves applause for successfully evading false heroics in this biographical study; and if his picture is a little stiff at times, it must be credited for its outstanding portrait of a man, a portrait that is at once dignified and stirring.

MORE IN THE routine style of fancy-dress biography, although not entirely so, is "The Story of Ruth," which has a handsome cast and some lovely costumes and sets displayed in color in a wide screen. It must be said right off that Samuel G. Engel's production of "Ruth" has less hokum and fewer dancing girls than most pictures with Biblical subjects. It would seem, however, that a beautifully told tale like the Old Testament's *Book of Ruth* could have been made into a simple yet moving and inspiring film. This "Ruth" is not over-elaborate, but it is over-long and often rather naive and dull. Scriptwriter Norman Corwin saw fit to add considerable padding to the tightly written original; now Ruth is a Moabite high priestess who is attracted to the Judean Mahlon (Tom Tryon) through his high ideals and interest in Jehovah. He dies after their marriage; and Ruth sticks by her mother-in-law who returns to Bethlehem where the young widow stands amid alien corn. In a series of strange and lengthy courtship scenes, Ruth is pursued by two of her husband's kinsmen; and for a while it looks as if her favorite Boaz (Stuart Whitman) is going to lose out to the loutish Tob (Jeff Morrow). None of this is very suspenseful and neither Henry Koster's direction nor the Corwin dialogue is particularly intriguing. Elana Eden is quite attractive as Ruth; and Peggy Wood is properly resourceful and motherly as Naomi. Needless to say, the Biblical quotations, especially the "Whither you go, I will go," are very impressive. It's unfortunate that the film as a whole isn't.

IT'S HARD TO tell what inspired Producer William Goetz to film the story of Franz Liszt, the great nineteenth-century pianist whose life has given rise to various confused legends involving religious ecstasies, love affairs and recitals. In any case, Goetz has made an extraordinarily beautiful movie in "Song Without End," and if at times it seems, because of its excessive length, to be a film without end, it is always good to see and to hear. The attractive cast is led by Dirk Bogarde, who is probably no more handsome than the youthful Liszt himself; lovely Capucine, who portrays the princess whose efforts to divorce her husband and marry Franz only added up to a lot of hard work and heartache; and pretty Genevieve Page, as the countess who mothered several of Franz's children. Their glamor is matched not only by the stunning color photography of James Wong Howe, who displays a series of gorgeously dressed audiences in a series of Europe's splendid palaces, churches, concert halls and theaters, but also by the fine piano playing of Jorge Bolet (very well simulated by Bogarde at the piano) whose recitals include selections from Chopin, Wagner, Bach, Schumann and, of course, Liszt. The script, however, is something else again; it is all right as far as it goes, but it doesn't go far enough. Its writer, Oscar Millard, was kept so busy editing the affairs of his celebrated hero that Liszt comes out as an almost likable though temperamental genius. In spite of the many static concert scenes, director Charles Vidor manages to get some movement into his film.

Summer Schedule

The Commonweal is now on its summer schedule. The next issue will be that of August 5, and subsequent issues will be dated August 19 and September 2. From that point on, The Commonweal will resume its normal weekly schedule.

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"Song Without End" will no doubt win audiences—except those who expect a semblance of realism.

AUDIENCES expecting much realism in the two films about Oscar Wilde are going to be disappointed too. Just why two British movies about Wilde should be made at the same time is not entirely clear—unless of course interest in the subject is great in England, where new laws regarding homosexuality are now being argued in Parliament. In any case, both of the British films have turned up on our shores—and there is not much choice between them. Robert Morley gives a fine performance in the title role of "Oscar Wilde," the black-and-white movie based on the play by Leslie and Sewell Stokes. He portrays the brilliant playwright as a sophisticated wit who goes to pieces when he is grilled and badgered by the opposing lawyer, magnificently played by Ralph Richardson.

Peter Finch gives a softer and warmer but equally good performance as the central figure in "The Trials of Oscar Wilde," which was written and directed by Ken Hughes. With its beautiful costumes and sets and lovely photography in color, "The Trials" is the more impressive of the two movies. While both of the films are quite outspoken and frank, neither of them explains Wilde well. The conclusions of both films are touching and sad, but neither of them, with their evasions and lack of realism, convinces me that the Wilde story is suitable material for the cinema. The Oscar they show has no more depth or meaning than the Ruth or Franz of the other biography films.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

BOOKS

Representative Best from the Catholic Press

HARVEST, 1960. Edited by Dan Herr and Paul Cuneo. Newman. $3.50.

By MICHAEL NOVAK

DAN HERR and Paul Cuneo have done a good job in getting together *Harvest 1960,* representing some of the best from the Catholic Press in 1959. The writer of the book jacket does not do so good a job. He is defensive from the first line, and makes the present book seem like an attempt to prove "that good writing is not a lost art among Catholics." That is a hateful stance.

Just so, the book gives a reasonably fair image of American Catholicism, though in its Sunday clothes, so to speak. Newspaper articles are not included; too dated, maintain the editors. Neither are short stories included; too poor, say the editors. The scholarly quarterlies are not represented, and neither is the often splendid *Perspectives,* which gave promise of being one of the best developments on the American Catholic scene. The acrid smell of fraternal controversy doesn't get into *Harvest* either; an unknowing reader might never really guess the gulfs that separate diverse groups of American Catholic opinion—Father Ginder or *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review* versus the modern world, for example. Some real insights might have been generated if articles or editorials from the various priests' magazines or from *The Brooklyn Tablet* or *Our Sunday Visitor* were printed side by side with similar pieces from *America* or The Commonweal.

The criterion of the selection was the preference of the editors. The audience envisioned is rather wide, from the thoughtful to the sentimental, but the collection favors the former far more than the Catholic press does, taken generally. The diocesan newspaper advertisements for candles that don't drip, statues that glow, and cassocks that are cooler in summer, are of course missing from the book. The comfort that radiates from the familial and devotional magazines is also pretty well missing. Maybe Catholics could fulfill their obligation to the Catholic press by waiting until the following spring of each year to buy this book. Except that writers are starving as it is.

Exceptional articles are included. Christopher Dawson, Eugene J. McCarthy, Charles Malik, John Cogley, and Thomas E. Murray have outstanding statements on "Christian Culture in America," "East, West and the Cold War," "The Catholic and the Liberal Society," and "Public Opinion, Policy, and the Problem of War." Thomas Merton discusses Easter and the unique freedom of the Law of Love. Hilda Graef writes on prayer, and Dorothy Dohen on St. Teresa and Common Sense. Joel Wells, a southerner by birth, writes of his efforts to overcome his prejudice against the Negroes. Arthur H. Miller, a northern Negro, writes of his struggle to restrain his wrath against the almost overwhelming humiliations a Negro is forced to bear in daily life—getting an apartment, getting a meal, getting help in roadside difficulty. George Ellis writes of his escape from prison in Atlanta, and his discovery of God in Alcatraz. Father Andrew Greeley writes of the discouragement that is the lot of all in our world, even of those who are *engagé,* in our world of the "Beat, Cool—And Lonely."

There is lighter writing in the book: Dorothy Day's fervent, touching sketch of a friend's first Mass; Lucile Hasley's "Reflections of a Marshmallow Convert," Mae and Martin Duggan's "Ach Himmel, What a Hymnal!" and the like. John P. Sisk's "The Male Image" is a gem of intelligent and witty observation. And there are other articles.

In spite of the splendid articles of Dawson, Malik, Cogley and Murray, manifesting a certain moral

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depth, strength, and consistency missing in most American statements, the present book lacks punch. Perhaps that is the best accusation to level against American Catholicism too. Remove it from the American intellectual scene, and what loss is there? There is a loss: the four men mentioned, and others as well, are as good as anybody in estimating the forces of modern society, and particularly in seeing the relationship between the liberal Enlightenment and the enduring Christian Tradition. But none of these men are yet able, as no one else is able, to generate a positive intellectual-moral thrust within our civilization, capable of winning the enthusiasm of the world.

Styronic Manner

SET THIS HOUSE ON FIRE. By William Styron. Random House. $5.95.

By CHARLES MONAGHAN

IN 1951, *Lie Down in Darkness* came like manna to an American literary world waiting hopefully for the emergence of a distinctive post-war voice. The novel was an intense evocation of the decay of the Old South, a subtle indictment of the contemporary South and a fresh estimate of New York life. It was distinguished by full-blown characterization and a prose style that immediately placed twenty-six-year-old author William Styron among the contemporary masters. But it contained, too, seeds that have since grown into weeds, preventing Styron's later work from achieving full bloom.

In the scorchingly hot, oppressively humid world of *Lie Down in Darkness*, insights into characters came at points when they were drunk, racked with sleeplessness, in passion, losing their loved ones, or preparing for suicide. The entire novel was written at white heat, and it left the reader emotionally exhausted though esthetically fulfilled. But behind Styron's presentation of character lurked a conception of man that can only be described as romantic. For him, rational man was not man as he really is. Styron used stress or liquor or lack of sleep to sweep away the ties between man and reason, between man and society, so that he might observe the naked, unencumbered soul.

Mr. Styron managed to keep this romantic inclination in good bounds in *Lie Down in Darkness*. In *The Long March*, however, a short story published two years later, the same technique diminished the force of the tale. The narrator is forced to march thirty-six miles after having slept little during the previous seventy-two hours. Mr. Styron's prose is so compelling that the reader, too, feels what it is to want to drop with exhaustion, but this effect is obtained at the expense of characterization and meaningfulness.

And now in Mr. Styron's second novel, his romantic proclivities are the undoing of what might have been a brilliant work. His hero is an expatriate artist who is always drunk and apparently never sleeps, a perfect subject for the Styronic technique. The artist, Cass Kinsolving, falls under the influence of a millionaire upper-bohemian and pseudo-intellectual, Mason Flagg, who has come to Italy to write a play.

Kinsolving degrades himself to obtain money and liquor from Flagg, and finally comes to emotional maturity by murdering him. The novel fails because we never get to know Kinsolving—he is veiled by a fog of liquor and romantic bombast. Not knowing Kinsolving, we find his redemption meaningless. The best parts of the book come when Flagg and his array of cronies are centerstage and the brooding Kinsolving is in the wings.

Mr. Styron seems to sense that his attempt to portray Kinsolving's regeneration does not rise naturally from his characterization of the wandering artist. He tries, therefore, to beef up the novel with philosophical "ideas." The result is bathetic. A few pages from the end of the work, the words "being" and "nothingness" begin to appear with increasing regularity, sledgehammer hints that this is meant to be an existentialist novel.

The final moral is over-obvious and drops like a lead weight from Kinsolving's mouth: "As for being and nothingness, the one thing I did know was that to choose between them was simply to choose being, not for the sake of being, much less the desire to be forever—but in the hope of being what I could be for a time." Yes, Virginia, it's true: being is better than nothingness.

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The Creation of Arthur Griffith

OURSELVES ALONE! The Story of Arthur Griffith and the Origin of the Irish Free State. By Padraic Colum. Crown. $6.

By VIVIAN MERCIER

OF ALL THE leaders Ireland has produced down the centuries, Arthur Griffith is the most baffling, at least to Irishmen. Whereas the typical Irish chief of a non-violent movement—O'Connell or Parnell—had too much personality and perhaps too little character, Griffith was all character and no personality. If he ever dominated a crowded meeting—and apparently once or twice he did—it must have been by sheer integrity, for he had no commanding presence, no gift of phrase-making, no humor except in a small circle of three or four friends. And yet the Republic of Ireland today is more Arthur Griffith's creation than any other man's, though he cared little for republicanism—a great deal for democracy, however—and would have accepted the King of England as a figurehead until the end of time.

It is possible to say, without too much exaggeration, that Griffith had but one idea in his entire life. It was a good idea, however, and he possessed the bulldog tenacity to hold onto it until he and others could put it into practice. Formulated in his own rhetorical journalistic style, that idea runs as follows: ". . . . in all political movements that succeeded the Union [with Great Britain] in Ireland no institutional rallying center for the nation was found, and so defeat always meant rout. Ireland found temporary substitutes, in great men—having no institutional center to form around, she formed around an O'Connell or a Parnell, and her safety depended on the man being impervious to the terror or cajolery of her enemies, and superior to the jealousies and follies of her friends. . . ." Griffith, aware of his own limitations, devised a program that could be implemented by colorless but dedicated men like himself. The core of his plan, first formulated in 1902 and given full expression in his book *The Resurrection of Hungary: A Parallel for Ireland* (1904), was the withdrawal of the Irish Nationalist members from the British parliament: they would then set up their own parliament in Dublin, their own cabinet, their own administrative and judicial systems, and go to work governing Ireland as if the British government did not exist. Hungary, said Griffith, had done much the same thing, forcing the Austrian Emperor to accept the system of dual monarchy and an independent Hungarian parliament in 1867.

To his policy and his organization Griffith gave the Gaelic name *Sinn Fein* ("Ourselves") and settled down to propagandize for it in a succession of weekly papers which brought him the meager income on which he and his family managed to live. Like the Fabian Society, Sinn Fein was a small minority movement whose policy was adopted by a majority after a startling shift in the political balance of power. Thinking to discredit the 1916 Rising, the British described it as the "Sinn Fein Rebellion," though Griffith had taken no part in its planning. The brutal suppression of the Rising and the attempt to impose conscription in Ireland made everybody with a glimmer of national feeling a Sinn Feiner. Most of the Irish constituencies were won by Sinn Fein candidates at the first post-World War I election to the London parliament. In January 1919 Griffith's long-cherished plan was implemented by the organization of a parliament, *Dáil Éireann*, in Dublin. Very soon the British government and the new Irish one were at war.

After a couple of years of increasingly savage guerrilla war, Griffith played the chief part in negotiating a treaty between *Dáil Éireann* and the British government. When *Dáil Éireann* ratified the Anglo-Irish Treaty by a close vote, Griffith took over the presidency of that body from De Valera, who opposed the Treaty. Civil war broke out between the two Irish parties, pro-Treaty and anti-Treaty, later in 1922. On August 12 Griffith died of a stroke, aged fifty-one, but his government survived the civil war to hold power until 1932. De Valera's party, which by then had in effect accepted the Treaty, won an election that year and remained in power until after World War II.

Such, in broad outline, is the story Padraic Colum tells. He clearly set out with the intention of writing a biography of Griffith, but instead he has produced a work of political history focused on Griffith. Perhaps he had no alternative, for material about Griffith's personal life appears to be scarce: the British ransacked his house so often that almost all his personal papers disappeared, while most of his letters to others seem to have vanished for similar reasons. It is possible, too, that the bitter side of Griffith, which is barely mentioned in *Ourselves Alone!*, discouraged the sweet-tempered Colum from exploring his subject's emotional make-up too deeply.

I regret this, for Colum's cast of mind and natural style are better suited to anecdotal biography than to history. As a historian, Colum feels obligated to use a formal prose in which, as a poet, he is not at home. Griffith the man remains as enigmatic as ever, while the book revolves about Griffith the devotee of a cause. Probably this is what he himself would have wished. Some of his happiest moments seem to have been spent in jail: since there was nothing more that he could do for Ireland at the moment, he relaxed and treated his sentence as an enforced holiday. Nobody could help admiring such a man, but only a few learned to love him.

REVIEWERS

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RECORDS

Mahler, Mozart and Others

RCA Victor comes in this month with two stunning winners — Berlioz' *Requiem* and Mahler's *Song of the Earth*. Personnel in the *Requiem* include the Boston Symphony Orchestra, New England Conservatory Chorus, tenor Leopold Simoneau and conductor Charles Munch. Musically and technically this is the best of the three stereo recordings of the *Requiem*. Munch's attention to all the nuances, his firm grasp of the overall concept of the work, the orchestral playing, the realistic pick-up of the sound—all make this an outstanding album. The Robert Shaw Chorale would have been a better choice for the singing. Simoneau has difficulty only in the upper ranges of the Sanctus.

The playing of Mahler's song-symphony is a remarkable accomplishment of Fritz Reiner. By this time, one should not be surprised at Reiner's superiority in so many directions—his Richard Strauss, Stravinsky, Prokofiev and Bartok are incomparable, and now he seems in a fair way to wrest from Bruno Walter the title of Perfect Mahlerite. The present two-record album (with the Chicago Symphony, and soloists Maureen Forrester and Richard Lewis) is the musical equal of the earlier Walter-Ferrier collaboration (Columbia) and far its superior in matters of recording technique. Chicago's acoustically brilliant Orchestra Hall is ideal for this kind of Mahler score. But it is Reiner who, by summoning all the voices, both small and massive, and by the inner, organic tension of his statement of this work, makes this performance an unqualified success.

Collectors will welcome the Beecham-directed *Magic Flute*, committed to records in Berlin in 1937, now available in cleaned-up sound on Electrola, venerable German record maker. Except for a certain thinness in the bass, the transfer to long-playing records is flawless. In Beechman's Mozart, all is grace and elegance and airy pungency. The individual soloists are not quite as polished as those in the Decca (Deutsche-Grammophon) set of a year or two ago, directed by Fricsay. But Beecham's ideas alone are worth the price of this album. Electrola would be well advised to furnish English translations with its operas.

Haydn's seldom performed and even more seldom recorded *St. Caecilia Mass* is given an excellent performance by the Bavarian Radio Orchestra and Chorus under Eugen Jochum, with Maria Stader, Marga Hoffgen, Richard Holm and Josef Greindl as vocal soloists (Deutsche-Grammophon). The Mass confirms what everybody has come to realize (now that his *Creation* and *Seasons* have been given fine recorded performances), that Haydn is a truly great master at choral writing. The dominant mood of this Mass is one of joy; it is a lengthy work, occupying three of the four sides of this set. Too distractingly interesting in itself for liturgical use, and still too religious for ordinary concert hall purposes, this Mass is wonderful to listen to at home. The fourth side is given to Handel's Organ Concerto No. 4, Opus 4, with Michael Schneider at the organ and the Bavarian ensemble under Jochum.

Another infrequently performed work, Prokofiev's *Alexander Nevsky*, a cantata based on the score for Eisenstein's classic film, is given a magnificently imposing reading by Reiner and his Chicagoans, supplemented by the Chicago Symphony Chorus (Victor). Whether intentionally or not, Prokofiev put into this score virtually every type of music identified with Russia—great choral songs, martial and patriotic airs, music that is at times flashing, biting and brilliant, at times brooding and melancholic, and, when appealing to sentiments for "Mother Russia," almost liturgical in form and spirit. The chorus receives fine stereo separation and spaciousness and Reiner's pacing of the work, if there were no other evidence, indicates the profundity of his insight.

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Francis Poulenc's *La Voix Humaine* is a kind of small miracle. The French composer has set to music Jean Cocteau's telephone monologue of a woman whose lover is leaving her to marry another. One false note and this one-act, one-scene "lyric tragedy" could fall apart. But Poulenc has written no false notes—his music simultaneously propels and supports the playing out of the scene, the unfolding of the tragedy. He both creates and sustains the quick succession of moods and the overall anguish. The performers are the original ensemble: Denise Duval, the soprano, and the Théâtre National de l'Opéra-Comique, under Georges Pretre. The accompanying booklet (part of the deluxe Soria Series package by Victor) is itself most interesting. It includes an essay by Janet Flanner ("Genet" of *The New Yorker),* drawings and comments by Cocteau; comments by and about Poulenc; some superb photographs of Miss Duval as she appears during the stage performance.

The Hindemith Violin Concerto of 1939 gets its first recorded performance (Everest) by Joseph Fuchs and the London Symphony Orchestra; it is coupled with Mozart's Violin Concerto No. 3. The Hindemith is interesting in its parts, but seems, even after two hearings, to lack progression and coherence. Perhaps repeated hearings will disclose more meaning. The sound by Everest is amazingly realistic, and Fuch's playing is clean, warm and spirited.

Deutsche-Grammophon is doing its own pressing and packaging of classical music these days (though Decca is still distributing its product in America). Included in the first big release are a number of Sviatoslav Richter piano recordings which are most welcome. One of his discs couples the Mozart Piano Concerto No. 20 with Prokofiev's Piano Concerto No. 5; another offers Schumann's concerto along with his introduction and Allegro. All are extraordinarily well done, but it is the Prokofiev, an acidic, witty, biting thing, that is most interesting and which, one feels, Richter found most enjoyable. D-G's engineering of the discs is fine; its packaging, with skimpy German and English notes, and limp liners, leaves much to be desired.

The same company has released a severely cut version of Berlioz' *Damnation of Faust,* with Igor Markevitch leading the Lamoureux Orchestra, soloists and chorus. The cuts break the story line at all the wrong places, Markevitch is erratic in tempi, and the singing is only adequate. Munch's recording (Victor) remains, even in monophonic form, as the preferred edition.

Ernest Ansermet continues to astonish with his superlative readings of the Beethoven symphonies (London). This month, he gives us the Sixth Symphony, together with an excellent account of the Prometheus overture. He and his Suisse Romande orchestra sound as good as the much more illustrious of the Beethoven-reknowned conductors and orchestras: Walter, Klemperer, Szell, Toscanini with the New York Philharmonic, Philharmonia, NBC, Vienna Philharmonic, etc.

Wilhelm Backhaus, who taught a whole generation how to listen to and enjoy the Beethoven piano concertos, is re-doing them in stereo (London) and his playing of the Fifth Concerto, with the Vienna Philharmonic under Schmidt-Isserstedt, is an unmitigated joy to the ear. He is in his seventies now and he brings to his Beethoven all the ripeness, maturity and insight of his years of playing. Remarkably, he is able to meet all the tricky technical demands without apparent strain.

The Juilliard String Quartet deserves praise for a wonderfully warm and affecting playing of the Ravel and Debussy quartets (Victor). Comparison with monophonic versions of these two works by the Curtis (Westminster) and Quartetto Italiano (Angel), reveals that stereo adds very little to one's enjoyment. The Angel recording is no longer available; the Curtis seems to lack some of the organic unity which the Juilliard players impart to both works.

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The Commonweal Approach

OF ALL THE EFFORTS that have been made to summarize this magazine's point of view, perhaps the thumbnail description that comes the closest to the truth remains the statement that The Commonweal represents "not a movement but an attitude."

That attitude is a Catholic attitude, and The Commonweal is generally referred to as a Catholic publication, although it is not, to use the term people apply to diocesan papers and magazines published by religious communities, an "official" Catholic publication. Rather, The Commonweal is, quite simply, a magazine published by men who are themselves Catholic and who endeavor to express a point of view on temporal matters in conformity with their religious principles. . . .

Since the editors of this magazine are laymen, its primary concern is with the temporal order, which is the specific province of the layman. In the light of their religious beliefs, the editors see the temporal order as being directly related to the spiritual, and their day-to-day judgments reflect this conviction.

Add to this the further fact that contributors to The Commonweal include many of the world's ablest Catholic writers, and it is not hard to see what distinguishes this magazine from comparable "secular" journals and why the magazine is generally thought of as Catholic. But there is nothing more "officially" Catholic about The Commonweal than this, and the editors have always gone to some lengths to make this fact quite clear. . . .

There is no secret about the fact that The Commonweal frequently represents a minority point of view—or at least a point of view quite different from that found in many diocesan papers and Catholic magazines. For example, the editors were —and are—unable to share the enthusiasm of most American Catholic publications for Generalissimo Franco. In Father Coughlin's era The Commonweal saw his *Social Justice* as intolerant and totalitarian in spirit, and said so. More recently, while some "official" Catholic publications heaped praise on Senator McCarthy and scorn upon his critics, the editors of this magazine viewed his "crusade" in a context of national fear and self-doubt and felt it had little to do with any rational means of dealing with the Communist threat.

That our opinions on such public questions drew criticisms and disagreement from other Catholics did not surprise us. . . . There is nothing extraordinary about the fact that Catholics frequently disagree on specific questions of the day. Indeed, the only extraordinary thing would be if this were not the case. But what is disturbing is the way some Catholics try to elevate personal judgments on passing events or political figures into dogmas of orthodoxy which all must hold if they are not to be labeled "pseudo" or "so-called" Catholics.

—from the 35th Anniversary issue

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